3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1918 FL12 Mauss FL12



Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *el-ngan, el-ke'ngo-ngan*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat, or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*el-ngoitoni*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be recovered. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*el-ngoitoni*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed by his mistress, and on payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is on exactly the same (*el-ng'atwo*) lines. Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These matters are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-class.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the social intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may admit an in-

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser, Il-Molgwani, Il-Sukuma, Il-Matisiyan*, and *Il-Purkeiani*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, e.g. the *Il-Aiser* contain amongst others the following: *Il-ngishilai* and *Il-Purkeiani*. In case belonging to the *Il-ngishilai* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Purkeiani* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Molgwani, Il-Sukuma, Il-Matisiyan*, or *Il-Purkeiani* sub-clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same family married relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the S. Kavirondo and other East African Tribes* (Longmans, 1915), Dr. Hobley states (p. 101) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if we remember (1) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (2) that no man may marry a woman related to a third woman, and then only if the women of relations could not do so unless such were done.

3: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12



sweetheart (*o-ongis*) a girl of the same sub-class as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *al-do'lattwo* and *en-o'lattwo*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his own relations, or to a daughter of his sub-class.[1]

The payment of the bridal price authorises a Masai to reckon the children which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised, sexual communism, or something very like it, prevails between all the men of one age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-class, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are lanjheneni. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two cows, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*o-ser ong-anjit*).

A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the child cuts the two middle lower teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *al-kishwanto*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, smearing and anointing the animals with their garments.

Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 297. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 15 years. See *The Masai*, p. 280.